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591 Theoretically, residence is patrilocal, yet there are several instances in which it is matrilocal. Theoretically too, the brothers of the family form the powerful or secure in-group and live around a common dance place as a lineage complex. Actually, brothers who cannot get along amicably will scatter. For example, Manifani of Dikimpe, as the eldest brother, lived on his lineage dance place in New Dikimpe; the second brother lived on the dance place of Old Dikimpe; the third had moved to the offspring hamlet of Dikimpe called Maiyamasang; and their two half brothers, by the same father but a different mother, lived at opposite ends of their mother's village of Atimelang. This example is not important in itself, but it does illustrate nicely the flexibility of residence that exists in practice. It can of course be balanced by several instances in which brothers follow the traditional pattern. Expediency and interpersonal relationships outweigh theory and dictate arrangements.

428 Expediency and the industry of the child also determine the inheritance of land; a child is usually given a garden plot as soon as he is old enough to work productively. Both men and women own fields inherited from their fathers or mothers.

262 Dry rice is in all probability the oldest staple of the area, but at present maize has replaced it as the daily food and rice is reserved largely for feasts. There is a local belief that "rice makes you fat and corn [327] makes you strong." A fat body is the criterion of health. In addition to rice and corn there is a large range of other foods, including millet, beans, sweet potatoes, cassava, taro, and a wide variety of tubers. Fruits include oranges, mangoes, papayas, breadfruit, jack fruit, and many kinds of bananas.

462 Theoretically, women are responsible for the cultivation and collec- [422] tion of all vegetable foods, and theory is reinforced by giving them ownership of all plant produce, regardless of the land and labor men may have invested in its production. Men, on the other hand, control 436 the financial system and the three currencies through which it operates — pigs, gongs, and metal kettledrums called mokos. Arrows too are used for money but only as small change. The monetary value of pigs 435 is highly inflated in relation to their consumption value. Their flesh is 262 rarely eaten except at feasts, in order that their value may be added to the interminable and complex monetary accounting that is basic to ceremonial procedure. In fact, should a pig be killed accidentally, a ceremonial feast of one sort or another is improvised to justify its consumption.

436 Of the three currencies, mokos are undoubtedly the coin of the realm. They range through unequal steps from the value of one rupiah

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782 when gardens are cleared, planted, and harvested and the good will of the souls of their previous cultivators must be solicited; and when sacred lineage hearths (*wa ara*) are "fed" at the time of harvesting the new corn crop. At such times it is the men who contribute the flesh food and who officiate. Women contribute rice or corn, which is supplementary in importance but not in bulk.

437 If an Atimelang man plays with gusto the financial role his culture assigns him, the major part of his time will be taken up with the manipulation of these three types of investments. Concepts of profit, interest, credit, and reciprocity are all present, and since currencies are not strictly standardized in value sequences and in commensurability, there is ample play in the system for endless bargaining. In addition, debts are [424] rarely paid except under the pressure of dunning. It is quite evident that a man in the financial swim will have to devote most of his time to negotiations.

442 The elaborate and interesting economic system of Atimelang—as well as most of the other aspects of the culture briefly described in this chapter—will be discussed again and in more detail in the course of this volume, but for the moment the following summary will do. Subsistence economy is in the hands of the women and gives them real power and status, which are not stressed in the ideological system. The men are primarily responsible for financial dealings, which are the honorific occupation of the society. The divorce between subsistence and finance is not so complete as the ownership of property on a sex basis would indicate, nor is labor in either of these realms so divorced in practice as it is in theory. Many men are passionate horticulturalists and many women have financial skills. No onus is attached to preoccupation with the economic function of the other sex; in fact, it is rather admired as a supplementary skill.

771 In the realm of religion sacrifice is the chief form of worship. Using the term *worship* in this sense may be misleading because it gives a connotation of sacredness and awe that does not exist. Prayer is to all intents and purposes nonexistent; the nearest approach to it is a rare type of invocation (*abang*). Divination in five or six major forms is used frequently.

776 All individuals have personal familiars that they have inherited from 787 parents and grandparents or have acquired themselves through some [424] visionary experience. The inheritance of these personal familiars is not rigorous or exclusively in the patrilineal line, so that new ones are constantly being imported by women who marry into the Five Villages. The prevalence of fevers, especially malaria, which is endemic, may

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854 them. My impression is that young men were even more inclined to fondle infants than young women, although I made no quantitative study of this. The impression—if accurate and not simply an exaggeration born of the contrast with attitudes in our own culture—might be explained by the greater leisure that young men possess.

The effect of this handling on the psychological development of the child may be expected to vary with the size of the community in which it lives. An infant who spends its life in a remote field house will have fewer contacts with strangers than one brought up on the edge of a dance place in a large community. How far parents recognize this is unknown, but I never saw one who was unwilling to surrender the child to an interested adult and who did not seem pleased at the attention lavished on the baby. Only if the child showed fright or cried vigorously would a parent take it back, usually with a deprecatory smile and the comment that it was afraid.

Fondling in Atimelang consists largely of rocking and joggling the child and of mouthing it. Kissing is not known for either adults or children, but an infant's arms, legs, and whole trunk will be caressed with mock bites of the lips. The procedure is quite evidently, consciously, and significantly an eating gesture. This connection between food and affection is one that recurs repeatedly and in many contexts.

GOING BACK TO WORK

[462 846] Since women are primarily responsible for garden work and the subsistence economy, mothers return to regular field work ten days to two weeks after the birth of the child. It is not customary for the mother to work with the child on her back or even near her, as it is in some societies. Instead the infant is left at home in the care of some kin, for example the father, an older sibling of either sex, or a grandmother whose field labor is less effective or necessary than that of a younger woman.

853 This practice results in great variation in the amount of attention and satisfactory feeding that infants get during this first period of life. Some women have fewer responsibilities than others in the number of people for whom they must provide and are therefore less occupied with field work. Others may have given birth during the early part of the dry season when labor is relatively slack, so that two or three months may pass before they have to resume intensive gardening. Still others may be lazy and use the care of the child as an excuse to slight their field work. But if an infant is left daily in the care of a substitute mother, it is going to be hungry part of the time. The person caring for

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462 589 736 The result of this attitude is to permit, even if it does not actually encourage, each sex to control the other's techniques of livelihood. This gives the sexes an actual economic independence of each other which is not apparent in a theoretic formulation that appears to set up a complementary cooperation making for mutual dependence. It is quite possible, and is indeed a not infrequent practice, for single men and women to get along quite ably on a subsistence and minimal prestige basis. I have in mind, for example, a divorcée with two children who not only had ample means of subsistence but had accumulated gongs, mokos, and pigs equal to those of some of the poorer men. There were widowers and temporarily deserted men who managed quite nicely alone. The single man is perhaps at a disadvantage compared to the single woman, since he has seldom had the same training in industry and since his cultural status at best requires that he do little physical labor except communally. In fact, men living alone are often the subject of surreptitious gossip which accuses them of living by poaching on neighboring fields and livestock.

593 562 When the interpretation of this attitude is extended to its fullest, it seems to be associated with the strongly rooted theory and fact that women are the providers of food. In addition, after an open quarrel in which divorce is threatened, the chief or the tumukun will often read the couple a moral lecture in which the wife is urged to be a mother to the man and the husband is urged to be a father to the woman. The conjunction of these two factors, the wife as provider of food and as mother, become indissolubly linked not only with each other but with experiences of early childhood. This image of the wife as the mother-provider was given perhaps extreme expression by Fantan the Interpreter, who was trying to explain the significance of the marital relationship from this angle. He said, "Wives are like our mothers. When we were small our mothers fed us. When we are grown our wives cook for us. If there is something good, they keep it in the pot until we come home. When we were small we slept with our mothers; when we are grown we sleep with our wives. Sometimes when we are grown we wake in the night and cull our wives 'mother.'"

586 In many cases this sentiment is more the expression of a hope than a reality. The mother is indeed the provider, but as we have seen she is an uncertain and unreliable figure. It is not surprising that even though the whole weight and prestige of the masculine-controlled finance acts to stabilize marriage, Atimelangers average about two divorces apiece. When one considers the elaborate affinal involvements and the cumbersome monetary negotiations involved in divorce, the figure seems high.

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be mothers to their own children. There is even less to make them want 562
to be mothers to their husbands.

The culture fosters a linkage of food, sex, and wealth. All three of 82
these are associated with many avenues of possible frustrations and pre- 594
pare the ground for instability and distrust in the marital relationship. Despite this, the essential biologic unity of the family group is recognized in the repercussions of adultery on the spouse and offspring. Family unity is reinforced and extended in social organization by the woman's theoretic absorption into the man's lineage and village and is expressed economically by the theoretic mutual dependency in the division of property between the sexes, which should make for cohesion. Formally phrased dependencies may be denied in actuality by the initia- [562]
tive allowed women in sexual affairs, by the real power they are capable of exerting, and by the cross-skills allowed the sexes, so that individuals [562]
can exist alone, adequately if not maximally. The weight of male-controlled finances and the complex affinal exchanges succeed in throwing the balance on the side of the theoretic structure.

The sum of all the personal factors and the discrepancies between 155
form and practice in institutions should combine to make people isolated units, highly individualized and self-contained to the point of being encysted, without at the same time creating any basic self-assurance and independence born of self-confidence. The recognized patterns of teasing, deceit, lying, and chicanery may be considered both as contributing causes and as effects of such attitudes. All these factors should produce a modal personality whose independence rests upon frustrations, confusions, and surrendered goals. In some instances the inability to create human contacts may actually be phrased as a fear of them. As Mangma said after telling one of his dreams, "We die if people are fond of us."

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SATELLITES

556 578 182 It is not expedient in this volume to elaborate institutional descriptions of various wealth activities. The gist of the foregoing pages has been to show a portion of that realm of activity concerned with wealth and hostility and to demonstrate some of the ways in which wealth may be used to express both status and aggression as well as to assist in the restraint of overt physical violence. It shows finally what happens when wealth fails to serve as an adequate check on anger. It has been evident that wealth situations may in themselves provoke extremes of violence. It is also evident that where extremes of violence have broken out, wealth again enters the picture to moderate an excessive multiplication of retaliations. All this discussion has been phrased largely in institutional forms. Only the man who is thoroughly successful financially can utilize such forms to the full, and obviously all men cannot be fully successful.

556 571 From observation some twelve middle-aged men of the Five Villages stood out as persons of particular financial power. These twelve men had six brothers among them who collaborated with them and were considered wealthy and powerful by association. This gives, as a rough estimate, some eighteen powerful men out of an adult male population of about one hundred and twelve. Those who must occupy the less privileged positions, I have called satellites for want of a better word. The society has no term to designate them, as the first paragraphs of this chapter indicated. These men function as allies and servitors of the more successful. They are depended upon when a show of strength is needed, on occasions like the ceremonial delivery of a dowry payment, a burial, or when labor is required for the building of a lineage house. At a large feast they do the slaughtering and cooking of meat. In bringing articles of value into the village they help dance in the object. In other words, whenever a crowd effect is needed or labor is required they lend assistance.

461 556 This assistance is particularly necessary where, as we have seen, a show of strength in physical and financial affairs is what counts. In addition, the wealthier and more important a man is, the more he considers physical labor beneath his dignity. Visiting, sitting, talking, and chewing areca are the only physical exertions worthy of a man aware of his importance. The very fact that one goes in for muscular labor

● [462] 554 602 571 makes one's status suspect. Muscular labor is the role of women and the young. Usually satellites have more or less remote kin affiliations with the powerful man to whom they are attached. In return for their assistance they receive loyalty and protection in those financial involvements to which every married male is more or less exposed. It is not

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band wanted to sleep with her and she was afraid. Makalaka stayed with us that night. When he left in the morning, Fuimai's mother and father came to us. They spoke nicely to her. She went back to her husband and slept with him after that.

When I was eight or nine years old, I went to stay in the house of the tumukun's father. Falepang was married to Atamau, who was an elder brother [classificatory] of the tumukun, Fanseni, and me. He wanted to sleep with her, but she ran away. She asked me to go sleep with her in an empty house at Warahieng. The next day some older people, including my mother, hunted for us. Mother asked me if I had brought my older sister [classificatory] there. I said, "No, her husband wanted to have intercourse with her, so she brought me here to sleep. It was dark when she asked me." Mother said, "Now we must go back to the village." Falepang's brother had come also and had spoken nicely to her, urging her to come home. We went back to sleep at the tumukun's house and Atamau had intercourse with Falepang. I slept with the tumukun and Fanseni in one place, and Atamau and Falepang slept in another. I said, "You have slept with your husband, so I am going to return to my village." [This was told rapidly and without pause.]

[Do all young women refuse their husbands at first?] Yes, at first they never want their husbands.

When I was thirteen or fourteen, Matinglang [female] and I played together. We went to the garden. I asked for her digging stick, since there might be rats there. We dug for them and caught two big ones. Fanmau and Falepang were there too. I told them to sharpen two spits. Kolpada said, "You are lying," and I said, "No, it is true." So we sharpened two spits and roasted the rats there under the big mango tree. The women ate them all. Some of the older women were busy in the garden digging tubers, so we roasted tubers too. The older ones, Falepang and Fanmau, got the hindquarters. [This duplicated habitual male activity. Rat hunting was not forbidden to women but was not customary for them.]

Once Matinglang called me to hunt rats. She set her dog on them. [Both informant and interpreter smiled at this imitation of adult male activities.] The dog started a rat, which I clubbed. Then the dog killed another rat himself. There were two of them. We gave them to Matinglang's mother, who cooked them for us, and we all ate them together. Our two mothers were working in the garden while we two played near them until nightfall.

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birth, she went to Leifui. There she gave birth to a male child with only half an ear. She already had white hair at that time. [Stop.] After that she came back here, got sick, and died. [Stop. Question.] The child might have lived, but they hung it in the brush in a basket and left it to die.

[I requested anecdotes about her and Lakaseni.] When I and Lakaseni were staying in the field house with this old woman, Atamai, Atakari, another Atamai, and Likma lived there also. When she died, all her children there cried and asked, "Who knows how to take care of us, so that we may go and stay with them? Who now has a level hand?" [This means one who is skillful in caring for infants, one who can balance them well on the palm of the hand.] After that we went to stay with our various uncles, Maipada, Padalang, and Fanseni. We stayed first with one and then with another, only a few nights at a time. When we were at Puorkaivi, I did not cook for the men. They ordered me to, but I said, "I am not yet grown. Why should I cook for you?" They were all angry with me. [Stop.] We went from one uncle to another. [Stop.] At that time I had no heart; I just sat [i.e., she was still young and did not yet work]. My elder siblings were all orphans. Kolaka [the wife of her uncle Maipada] cooked for them and fed them. When Padalang went to cut a field, all the orphans followed him with baskets and cooking pots to help him with his field work. [Stop.] These children stayed with Maipada until they were big and could do field work and have thoughts. They worked in turn in each other's fields. When I too was a little bigger, I followed them with a pot and cooked for them. [Stop.] When the corn was ripe, they said, "Our younger sister is not yet big, so we shall harvest the corn and she can carry the baskets." [Corn harvesting was woman's work. Stop.] When the harvest was over, we had thirty to forty bundles of small ears and forty to sixty bundles of large ones. [Stop.]

Next we cut a large field. Lakaseni went with Padalang to Raugfui. I went with Fanata to work at Padakuni. I got two large baskets of rice and Lakaseni got only one. [Stop.] Then Lakaseni said, "I shall sell my rice for a moko, and yours we shall keep for feasts." [Stop.] At this time Lakaseni was raising a pig that his Female House had given him. When they gave a death feast for our grandparents, Padalang roasted that pig and said he would pay a large moko for it. When they paid off the feast, Padalang gave Lakaseni a Kolmale moko. [Stop.] Then Maugpada said Lakaseni should give him the Kolmale and he could marry his daughter Fuipada. [Stop.] There was still a Tamamia moko

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as a structure, the house as a kin group, and the desire for intimate human support which so many Atimelangers seem to desire but fail to achieve. 157x

Girls seem less preoccupied with the drawing of houses and people. Among the boys both houses and human beings make up 7 per cent of the subjects portrayed. It is in itself suggestive that both subjects have equal representation. Among the girls, however, houses make up 3 per cent and human beings only about 1 per cent. It is true that men are primarily, although not exclusively, responsible for house building and that kinship groupings emphasize descent through the male somewhat more than through the female. The significant point in any event is that here seems to be a real sex difference. Whether one wishes to attempt an explanation on a formal cultural level or on the level of depth psychology is a matter of orientation. They are not necessarily mutually exclusive. [462]

Another baffling parallel is the similar treatment of hands and feet in human figures and of roots and branches in trees. Were there a convention of this sort in adult art, this treatment might be considered copying, but such is not the case. Even in the conventional children's drawings on the ground I did not see such similarities expressed. It is a parallel that appeared only in the paper-and-pencil drawings. Whether a case could be made for the association of humans with trees and plants like that just made for humans and houses is worth considering. Certainly in the dance verse quoted on page 138 creditors are referred to poetically as trees and branches.

From the viewpoint of technique as opposed to that of subject matter a few comments are worth making. Repetitiveness during a single session and over a number of sessions is marked. It might be considered lack of initiative and imagination. Similarly, the absence of any attempt to establish design within the allotted area is noteworthy. Drawings are placed on the sheet of paper helter-skelter and without relation to each other. Only one boy feebly attempted to handle his paper as a unit when he placed a star in each corner of the sheet. Finally, there is no attempt to compose groups or portray action. It is rare to find even two objects brought into relationship, as in the case of a chicken and maize (Figure 3-c). There were only four such cases, all drawn by boys: a house and tree, a house and dance place, a house with a person in it, and two men dancing. Such a meager list confirms observations made in other connections, namely, that the Atimelanger seems poor at seeing or establishing relationships. In all these respects — repetition,

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with the best will in the world, can never have more than a superficial insight into peoples of an alien culture.[1] 121 114

Lastly, there is so far no very definite knowledge of what ego mechanisms will be employed by the individual in reacting to frustrations associated with different kinds of disciplines and discipliners. However, from the psychoanalysts and the psychiatrists there is a growing insight into personality processes like projection, introjection, sublimation, and so on. I assume these processes to be universal to mankind, although I should expect variations in weighting from culture to culture.[2]

The procedure, therefore, is to consider a basic physiological tension, see how it is acted upon by disciplines of childhood, what repetitions it finds in a variety of contexts and how it is crystallized by (or into) institutional behavior through those personality mechanisms I have assumed to be universal to mankind.

Hunger, as one of the basic and obvious tensions of human beings, everywhere subject to delayed, redirected, and elaborated gratifications, suggests itself as a point of departure for testing the procedure outlined above. The people used for this purpose are the Atimelangers, who belong to a cluster of five mountain villages on the island of Alor in the Netherlands East Indies.[3]

The experiences of the Atimelang child with hunger and food are to be considered first. 853 Immediately after birth the mother takes the child in her arms and offers it the breast to suckle at will. From four to six days after birth the mother remains in the house with the infant rather constantly in her arms. When the umbilical cord has dried and dropped off, the mother and child leave the house for the first time and from then onward the child is offered in addition to its mother's milk many different kinds of premasticated foods and vegetable gruels. Any refusal of the child to nurse freely and frequently when opportunity offers during this first period of life is considered a serious symptom of ill health and gives rise to considerable concern in parents. After the first week the child is given adult diet as fast as it will take it, and a child of about eighteen months can often be seen at a feast alternately nursing and sucking a cube of boiled pork fat.

Since, however, women are primarily responsible for garden work and the subsistence economy of the Atimelangers, they return to regular field work often ten days to two weeks after the birth of a child. It is not customary for the mother to work with the child on her back or even near her, as it is in some societies, so the infant is left at home in the care of some kin, usually the father or older sibling. There is great variation in solicitude and effectiveness of feeding care received by infants from these substitute mothers. Also some wom- [462] 854 853 155

[1] I am indebted to Dr A. Kardiner and some of his colleagues for their insistence on the need of repetition in many contexts to set certain personality trends.

[2] For a discussion of these mechanisms see Anna Freud, *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defence* (London, 1937).

[3] The material used in this article was collected by the writer during eighteen months of residence on the island of Alor, extending from January 1938 through June 1939. Acknowledgments are gratefully made to the Social Science Research Council of Columbia University and to Dr A. Kardiner who made this work possible. [114]

3:DuBois E-5 (1938-1939)1940 OP5 Alor OP5

512 kets already hanging by tumplines from their close-cropped heads. Large field knives were thrust into their cord belts. They were off to the day's work in the gardens, followed by a raging chorus of infants protesting as violently as they knew how at being left behind. A little later the men came down, shivering and stretching, and then were off to their day's work—the bargaining and dunning necessary to maintain the prestige finance system which was their honorific prerogative. There were some men, of course, who joined their wives in field work or who spent the day caring for infants still too small to toddle about alone, but these men were lesser figures, essentially the satellites of the financiers and comparable to Maliseni only as a day laborer is comparable to the gentleman from New York. The only difference was that in Atimelang the two men lived, dressed and ate alike; a comparison which could hardly be made between the gentleman from New York and a day laborer.

462 This early morning scene set the picture of
421 Alorese life. Women were responsible for subsistence, men for finance. Theory gave each sex its just rewards. All vegetable foods belonged to the women, all currencies to the men. The ownership of food by the woman held regardless of whether the field on which it was grown was hers or her husband's and how much labor the man might have contributed to its production. Contrariwise, the pig fattening in the pen under the house belonged to the man to dispose of as he saw fit, no matter how large a share of the feeding a woman might have done or whether it had been procured by her in the first place. This brings out the point that men and women were possessed of each others' skills but that their rewards and ownerships were divided. The theoretical picture gives the impression of mutual dependence, but in actuality this was not necessarily so. In fact there were several cases of men who lived alone quite comfortably and of women who did the same and were even able to skirt the edges of the male financial game. There was plenty of hostility between the sexes but never in terms of accomplishments. In fact one said admiringly of a man skilled in household tasks, "He is a woman-man," or vice versa when a woman showed skill in financial manipulations. It seemed to me that, despite frequent and violent quarrels between men and women, there was basically a greater respect between them than in our own society.

421 However, the relationship between the two sexes is an aside. The chief point is the division of properties, with the subsistence goods belonging to women and the money to men. Such a

[p. 484 A]